

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

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DRAFTED BY ARA/LA:GECHAFIN:GMR

APPROVED BY ARA:GECHAFIN

S/S-O:LRMACFRLANE

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O 161908Z JAN 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 011520

EXDIS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GEORGETOWN 0087 ACTION SECSTATE JAN 15.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L GEORGETOWN 0087

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID PFOR PINT GY US KS

SUBJ: RESPONSE TO GOG INQUIRY ABOUT PRESS REPORTS LINKING AID
PROGRAMS AND UN VOTES

REF: STATE 9480

1. SUMMARY: I DELIVERED MESSAGE OF REFTEL TO FONMIN WILLS
MORNING JAN 15. HE WELCOMED SUGGESTION OF FURTHER HIGHLEVEL
USG MEETINGS WITH AMBASSADOR MANN AND HINSLEF. WILLS GAVE
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL REASONS IN RESPONSE TO MY EXPRESSED
CONCERN AT BURNHAM'S DENUNCIATION OF EARLIER DEMARCHES AS PRESSURE.
I DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS MESSAGE OR DECISION
WILL INDUCE GREATER GUYANESE RESTRAINT SINCE MOTIVATION FOR
CONSISTENT GUYANESE OPPOSITION TO U.S. HAS DEEP IDEOLOGICAL,
RACIAL AND PERSONAL ROOTS. END SUMMARY.

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2. I MET WITH FONMIN WILLS FOR ONE HOUR AND 15 MINUTES MORNING

JAN 15 TO GIVE HIM MESSAGE REFTEL (NOTAL). TO ENSURE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING, I READ PARA'S A THROUGH C TO HIM AND CAREFULLY PARAPHRASED D THROUGH F. WILLS THEN ASKED IF HE WOULD BE CORRECT IN TELLING BURNHAM AND CABINET THAT THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE WAS INCORRECT AND THAT THE AID PROGRAM WAS CONTINUING. I SAID I FELT THAT MESSAGE WOULD BE INCOMPLETE AND THAT HE SHOULD ELABORATE ALONG THE LINES OF THE CABLE, SPECIFICALLY THAT THE NEGATIVE VOTES AT THE UN HAD BEEN NOTED WITH CONCERN, THAT SUCH VOTES ARE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DETERMINING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND THAT WHILE THE FOOD CROPS LOAN HAD NOT BEEN DELAYED AND WAS BEING ROUTINELY PROCESSED IN WASHINGTON, THE AUTHORITY TO SIGN THE PUBLIC SERVICE TRAINING LOAN HAD EXPIRED, WAS NOT RENEWED FOR THE REASON SPECIFIED AND THAT THE TIME FOR SIGNING WAS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION, WILLS SAID THAT THE STATEMENT ALREADY APPROVE BY CABINET ON THE NYT ARTICLE WOULD NOT BE ISSUED, BUT THAT THE GOG MIGHT PUT ONE OUT SAYING THAT THE USG AHD DENIED THAT THE NYT ARTICLE WAS CORRECT. I DID NOT FURTHTER CONTEST HIM.

3. I THEN REREAD SEVERAL SENTENCES FROM REFTEL. WILLS SPECULATED THAT THE NYT ARTICLE HAD BEEN A PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION WHICH AHD, IN FINAL ANALYSIS, NOT BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE SECRETARY. I SAID THIS SOUNDED LIKE A REASONABLE SPECULATION, BUT I COULD NOT CONFIRM IT.

4. WILLS SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL OF CONTINUED CLOSE CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR MANN CONTAINED IN PARA 3. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MEET WITH ASST SECY ROGERS, BUT THOUGHT THE NEXT TIME HE WAS LIKELY TO BE IN THE U.S. WOULD BE ON HIS WAY TO AND FROM THE NON-ALIGNED MEETING AT COLOMBO NEXT SUMMER. HE SAID A MEETING OUTSIDE WASHINGTON WOULD BE BETTER. HE ILLUSTRATED THE SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY TO THE US AT TOP GOG LEVELS BY SAYING THAT WHEN HE HAD PROPOSED GOING TO WASHINGTON SEVERAL MONTHS AGO TO LOOK OVER THE EMBASSY THERE HE HAD GOTEN HOSTILE COMMENTS FROM SOME CABINET MEMBERS, WITH THE ALLEGATION THAT IF HE WAS RUNNING TO WASHINGTON PERHAPS HE WAS AN AMERICAN AGENT.

5. I TOLD WILLS THAT I HAD BEEN DISTURBED AT THE OBVIOUSLY GOG-INSPIRED REHASH OF BURNHAM'S REMARKS RE U.S. PRESSURE IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MONDAY PRESS (GEORGETOWN 0067), ADDING THAT I DID NOT THINK THE DELIBERATE BUILD-70UPBY THE GOG OF THIS SORT OF CONFRONTATIONAL SPIRIT WAS IN EITHER OF OUR INTERESTS, QUERYING WHETHER THE PM REALLY INTERPRETED SUCH NORMAL UNTHREATENING DIPLOMATIC REQUESTS AS PRESSURE. WILLS IMPLIED THAT THE RESULTS SHOWED THAT THIS SORT OF REACTION WAS IN THE GOG'S INTEREST. HE SAID THAT SUCH DECLARATIONS BY THE PM AND OTHER GOG SPOKESMEN WERE OFTEN FOR THE PRIMARILY INTERNAL PURPOSE OF INSPIRING THE QUOTE LUMPENPRO-

LETARIAT'S UNQUOTE SOMETIMES FLAGGING SUPPORT FOR THE GOG'S MOVE TOWARD A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, THEY ALSO HAD AN EXTERNAL ANGLE. BY CRYING WOLF ON DESTABILIZATION, FOREIGN INTERVENTION, ETC., EVEN THOUGH SOME GUYANESE SPOKESMEN MIGHT NOT BELIEVE THE ALLEGATIONS THEY ARE MAKING, THEY OFTEN PROVIDED A DENIAL BY THE ACCUSED PARTY. (WILLS DID NOT MENTION THE PRESENT CASE WHEREBY WE WERE DENYING THAT THE FOOD CROPS LOAN IS HELD UP OR THAT THE OTHER LOAN HAS BEEN CANCELLED, BUT HIS IMPLICATION WAS CLEAR). THE GOG, WILLS CONTINUED, CAN THEN USE SUCH INDICATIONS THAT THE U.S. IS NOT HOSTILE TO THE GOG TO HELP PERSUADE THE BRAZILIANS, OR ON SOME FUTURE OCCASION THE VENEZUELAN, THAT THEY WOULD NOT HAVE THE TACIT SUPPORT OF THE U.S. IN ANY INVASION OR INTERVENTION TO OVERTHROW GUYANA'S SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT HE WOULD CALL IN THE BRAZILIAN CHARGE NEXT WEEK TO GET THAT POINT ACROSS.

6. WILLS MADE HIS USUAL CLAIM THAT HE TRIES TO URGE A MODERATE AND PRAGMATIC VIEWPOINT ON HIS MORE RADICAL COLLEAGUES AND ON BURNHAM, BUT HE HELD LITTLE HOPE THAT U.S. AND GUYANESE INTERESTS AS EXPRESSED IN UN VOTES AND ELSEWHERE WOULD CONVERGE. ON KOREA FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID THAT GUYANA IS INCREASINGLY CONSCIOUS OF ITS SOCIALIST CREDENTIALS WHICH ARE MERGING WITH ITS THIRD WORLD NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS. DESPITE DISTASTE FOR SOME OF NORTH KOREA'S POLICIES, GUYANA NOW IDENTIFIED ITSELF WITH NORTH KOREA AS OPPOSED TO SOUTH KOREA, AND WE WOULD BE DELUDED IF WE EXPECTED GUYANA TO VOTE AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF NORTH KOREA AND OF THE OTHER SOCIALIST STATES AT THE UN OR ELSEWHERE. HE REITERATED, OF COURSE, THAT GUYANA HAD NO INTENTION OF BECOMING A SATELLITE OF ANYONE AND THAT THE LIFE STYLES OF BURNHAM AND MOST GUYANESE LEADERS DIFFERED MARKEDLY FROM THOSE OF ORTHODOX COMMUNISTS. STILL THE GOG LEADERS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO DEVELOP GUYANA, GIVEN ITS HUMAN RESOURCES OF FORMER SLAVES AND INDENTURED LABORERS, IS THROUGH A MORE AUTHORITARIAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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MARXIST-LENINIST SOCIETY. FURTHERMORE, WILLS NOTED THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP CAME TO POWER IN AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-COLONIALIST ENVIRONMENT STRUGGLING AGAINST THE UK AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WHICH ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY DOMINATED GUYANA. FOR THAT REASON, GUYANA WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO IDENTIFY ITSELF WITH THE INTERESTS OF OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND OPPOSE MANY WESTERN INTERESTS.

7. I MADE THE POINT THAT THE GOG, ESPITE OUR LIMITED REACTION IN THE PRESENT CASE, COULD NOT INDEFINITELY EXPECT THE SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY OF THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES IF IT SO CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED THEIR INTERESTS, REFERRING AGAIN TO THE ASSERTION IN PARA A REFTTEL THAT ACTIONS IN MULTI-LATERAL FORA ARE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT, I GAVE HIM A COPY OF A CHART ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AT THE UNGA FROM 1971 TO 1974 WHICH SHOWED THAT ON THOSE ISSUES ON WHICH THE U.S. AND USSR HAD BEEN DIRECTLY OPPOSED AND WHERE GUYANA HAD VOTED EITHER YES OR NO, GUYANA HAD VOTED WITH THE USSR 26 TIMES AND ONCE WITH THE U.S. (ON A PROCEDURAL MATTER IN 1971). I SAID THAT REGARDLESS OF EMOTIONAL TIES OF GOG LEADERS AND THEIR IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK, I WOULD THINK THEY WOULD FIND IT PRAGMATICALLY AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS TO CONTINUE SUCH A ONE-SIDED POLICY. WILLS SHRUGGED, BUT HAD THE DECENCY NOT TO SAY THAT THERE WAS NO SIGN THUS FAR THAT THIS OPPOSITION HAD WORKED AGAINST GUYANA'S OVERALL INTERESTS.

8. SEPTTEL REPORTS THAT GUYANA WILL FORMALLY RECOGNIZESMPLA AS GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA LATER THIS WEEK.

9. COMMENT: IN MY PERSONAL OPINION, OUR CONTINUED HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE SOME GUYANESE RESTRAINT ON ANGOLA AND IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS ILLUSORY. WHY SBOULD GUYANA EXERCISE SUCH RESTRAINT? ON IDEOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL GROUNDS, BURNHAM AND THE TOP LEADERSHIP CONSIDER THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AS INEVITABLE ENEMIES, THOUGH THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY WILLING TO TAKE FROM US SUCH USEFUL ASSISTANCE AS WE OFFER. THIS WORLD VIEW APPEARS TOO INGRAINED TO CHANGE. AS FOR PRAGMATIC GROUNDS TO SUPPORT OR OPPOSE US, WE HAVE JUST DEMONSTRATED ONCE AGAIN THAT WE ARE STILL UNWILLING TO APPLY ANY MEANINGFUL SANCTION IN THE FACE OF GUYANA'S ACTIONS AGAINST OUR INTERESTS.
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UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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